/49-cont./

178 433 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of production and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

The economic efficiency of the individual does not represent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /49/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 433 771 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party: see below, p. 68 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

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1977 1978 433 Economic acculturation proceeds not only in accordance with the necessity of facing new exigencies, arising from contact with civilization, but also as a more or less direct consequence of the loss or transformation of the old patterns or institutions or even of material conditions, which makes the old economy impractical, forcing a search for new solutions.

156 177 178 433 The most incisive change being manifested in this domain perhaps is the recognition, even though slow, of the economic efficiency of the individual as a factor of social distinction. It is a more or less direct consequence of the disintegration of the old great-family as the unit of production and consumption, leading to economic individualization, a consequence of the need to find a substitute criterion for the traditional social stratification based on religious experience and, lastly, of the effort to overcome the motives of discrimination on the part of the civilized inhabitants, who tend to stigmatize the sylvicolist as indolent by nature and economically incapable. Thus economic efficiency assumes social value in a double sense: as a source of prestige within the community itself and as a recourse for self-affirmation in the face of foreign elements.

1977 1978 • 181 433 Even for such reasons of a specifically social order, if there were no others, it would be obvious that the acculturative process /82/ could not fail to lead to an increasing individualization of the economic activities. On the other hand, however, this transformation does not take place without causing serious disturbances in the whole culture, in the adaptive system as well as in the integrative one. The major difficulty consists in the lack of mental equipment suitable for the individualist economy. Besides a notion of work adequate for the new form of economic life, the Guaraní lacks a minimum of foresight, as well as a notion of the correspondence of values in commercial transactions (hence the impossibility of dealing with money). Certainly, obstacles of this order perhaps exist in all the native tribes and perhaps even in all the primitive villages obliged to replace in a short time the ancient communitarian economy of the co-operative type with the individualist system of the Western world. But there would certainly

Tr Schaden--73 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh64 Guarani Sh44

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177 178 181 433 [156] be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist thinking is as marked as among the *Guaraní*, simply because of the profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes, instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only (so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced by another one.

177 178 43 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining money in order to come into the possession of so many things that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the regional economy. This integration takes place through activities unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surrounding environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos, hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms, baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and, finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /63/ activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 433 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immediate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

2: Schaden--108 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/90 cont./

881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable.

881 Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
• 181 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
562 dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
[771] the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and
[561] perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation ñemondýiá. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination odjekóaku, generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

2: Schaden--113 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
• [181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbaraká. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbyá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

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75 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
[881] of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[846] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

2: Schaden--133 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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771 179 797

manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils. Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore, mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the Guaraní religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the [775] [184] soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned -- according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the Guaraní religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional cases (Ñandéva of Jacareí), any direct connection between free will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaraní 181 797 179 hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his liberty, which he prizes above all (2).

2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Müller, who worked among the Guaraní of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Mission kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life; it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

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to know about your remedies, nor do I want to know anything about your God or about your baptism. I do not want to live here with you. What do you care whether we are sick and die, that every day we are less numerous? Do not concern yourself about us.' -- This is more or less how they spoke to us, after they had overcome their fear of us and had seen that we were inoffensive. A pleasant remark made to an old idler had the echo: 'Well, if you only want to live with good people, do not come to be with us; this is how we are. If we cannot remain as we are, then we cannot live with you. What is it that you are saying about being good? Well, I do not want to be good.'" Müller, 1919.

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Aside from the opposing points, like what has just been mentioned, there are clearly others at which an approximation between the religious systems becomes possible or even easy on the basis of common elements, similarities or mere analogies. From the sociological point of view, the phenomenon of religious leadership stands out, an aspect in which the organization of the Jesuit state collided with the Guaraní tribal tradition. In the matter of the doctrine properly speaking, however, it would not have been very difficult to remove the contradiction existing between the primitive polytheism and the adventitious monotheism; the different spirits of the tribal religion would correspond, on the one side, to the angels and saints, and, on the other, to the attributes of God presented by the missionary, which would easily be personified, one by one, leading in addition to an unfolding of so many independent divinities: the Creator, the Omniscient, etc. Similarly, the doctrine of the good and bad inclinations of the soul would lead to either an identification with two souls, one good and the other bad, or it would collide with the primitive dualism or pluralism of the human soul. /110/ Today, therefore, one would not always be able to distinguish between phenomena simply of religious convergence and others of direct influence.

/126 cont./

78 doctrines themselves. As internal dissensions increase, these
182 same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly, the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be
[181] said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is, to the porahêi.

/127/ When the social disorganization of the villages reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal
[184] I found few houses in which anyone still prayed; at Dourados I never heard a Ñandéva sing his porahêi. This is a state which none of the Kayová or Mbüá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

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[773] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaranî with the caiçaras, the folk-
179 lore takes on local color: they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
• 181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaranî, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[153] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house,
[161] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours.' -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

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"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

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Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

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In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

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The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbûá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

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772 For the migrating Mbüá, Paradise, the Promised Land -- according to the explanation by the ñanderú Miguel of Itariri -- is a genuine garden or orchard, káaguy miní, consisting of low vegetation ("same as capuera /second-growth forest/, but it is not capuera"), corresponding to the ideal of existence on earth: a country without mosquitoes and sand flies /Phlebotomus/, without snakes and wild beasts, without briars and other plagues, and rich in game, fruit trees that are not very high, and good land for tillage; a country, finally, in which one could plant and hunt as one wished. There is an abundance of game: jacu, kotý (wild pig), toucan, etc.; there is, however, no paca, no deer, no armadillo. There is much fruit: banana, narã (orange), txandjáu (watermelon), manduí (earthnut), and many others -- everything having arisen by God's will. Miguel goes on enumerating the fruits, each time saying oguereko (there is). The banana trees, orange trees, and other fruit trees are very low, shorter than a human being, but the fruits are all the larger. The other trees, such as the cinnamon and the cedar, are likewise not very tall, but quite thick. The [178] representation of a Paradise in which one does not have to work, such as was described by the ñanderú Sebastião, is a recent and not generalized product, immediate fruit of the cultural disintegration. • [181] In the meantime there predominates a dream corresponding to the cultural ideal accepted by the tribe, according to which the activities practiced in the traditional manner continue to form an integral part of happiness, consequently not being felt as a less desirable thing. And part of this fate is also the possibility of living 772 186 rigorously, in all details, in accordance with the pattern of the tribe: whether in diet, clothing, or any other sector of life. In the "Land never ending," everybody will wear the ancient Mbüá costume and the men will wear hats of karandáí. Ñanderú ndaipotái, God does not want them to wear the hat of civilized type. Any and every element that is recognized as coming /171/ from the civilized world is banned from Paradise. Finally, the loyalty to the elements of the traditional culture has already taken on religious meaning. This means that the antiacculturative moment has invaded the field of the mythical representations and influenced the conception of the world.

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771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure.

771 772 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [1756] Ketxuíta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuíta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that characterize life on this world. [177] Both the name of the savior hero [197] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 167 181 [184] Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at present as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

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181 182 177 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experiences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

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In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms, tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

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2: Schaden--231 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/181 cont./
recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercialization of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the [554] "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclolzed Guaraní, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

The need to face new economic demands causes more or less radical transformations in the family organization. As the communitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

proximity to kin or proximity to *kokué* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed.

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupí for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.)

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and, in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[146] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapýi*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokué*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[147]

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puhirão*. This work may have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction

[146] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [147] *Ibid.*

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Eh44 Guarani Eh44

news such as might exist if *change* activity were carried out in company with other Cayuá. Relations between the Indians and the whites are definitely those of inferior to superior. The *change* is normally free of most conceivable non-commercial social values; cooperation, reciprocity, or helpfulness are incidental, if present at all, and the residuum for the Cayuá *peão* is simply a restricted, individual self-interest in economic gain.[169] Whether the *change* relations of Cayuá with whites involve any direct transmission of white commercialistic or individualistic attitudes *per se*—beyond those implicit in the nature of the relationship—is not known. It is possible that direct transmission of attitudes takes place; but even if not, there is little doubt that the *change* "exposes" the *peão* to a situation in which a certain individualism and commercialism of sentiment must result.

(II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians have much the same effect as the *change*. The economic benefit from trade with whites is an individual benefit. The motive of economic self-interest and the attitude of economic rationalism are important because they are largely inherent and inevitable in the trade complex as the Cayuá know it. Like the *change*, trade relations of Cayuá with Neo-Brazilians are lacking in most non-commercial social values, even such values as would mark white trading with whites—the pleasure of bargaining, the swapping of news and comments, and so forth. The Cayuá negotiation is more restricted to the purely commercial ends of the respective parties, and the Cayuá would often need to be more clever than is necessary for the Brazilian customer if he were not to be cheated. It is not out of any awareness of social values, such as a spirit of helpfulness, reciprocity, or pleasurable social intercourse, that the Cayuá trade with whites (or vice versa). This trade rather takes place almost exclusively in order to obtain certain goods.

Actual money may sometimes enter into trading transactions, and money as a measure of value is often used when no money actually passes hands. The concept of price thus insinuates itself into Cayuá economic thinking (attitudes). Consider the effect upon social relations, in which non-commercial aspects are already at a near minimum, of an abstract, arbitrary standard of economic value such as money, which is largely divorced from any concern other than that of a measure of economic gain or loss.[170]

Ideas of money price prevalent in (II. A. f.) commercial dealings on the outside are also being brought into relations within Cayuá society itself. In

[169] The writer knows of one instance—not at Taquapiri—in which what was actually Cayuá *change* for a Paraguayan settler was organized in somewhat the same spirit as a *puxirão*. The arrangements were similar, and a number of Cayuá joined together to perform the allotted work. Paraguayans often seemed less superordinate and domineering toward the Cayuá than Brazilians in the neighborhood of Taquapiri, besides more often speaking the Indian language.

[170] Of course, it is not reasonable to argue that "money" for Cayuá has the same connotations as for the Brazilians—or for us. It is rather that the use of money would inevitably involve some contrast with the aboriginal sentiments.

3: Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Bk64 Gunrael Bk64

*199 182 43 *181 one sense this is reportable since some of the goods and services which enter into Cayuá dealings with Cayuá are (I. b. and I. c.) such that did not exist aboriginally. It is likely, therefore, that some notion of price was attached to these commodities at the very time they were introduced to the Indians—or the price connotation of such goods and services were often become quite apparent to the economically ingenuous Cayuá. The "internal change," one Indian working in the paid employ of another, is thus a type of service which did not exist aboriginally. Likewise, for example, if corn sold by the Cayuá to the trader generally comes to command a certain price, a price or money relative may also tend to hold in exchanges of corn among the Cayuá themselves. Internal wage-work and internal trade are clear instances of a change in type of economy and in Cayuá economic values, as a result of acculturational causes.[18]

*199 182 462 595 II. B. d. "Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, possibly nonexistent."[19] The principal reason for the decrease of polygyny among the Cayuá appears to be an economic one. Put most directly, it is that women have become considerably less important economically on the whole, and especially in relation to the increasing economic importance of men. This is best understood as a result of acculturational causes. In the first place is (II. B. a.) the change in the division of labor by sex with men assuming the major role in agriculture. Meanwhile (II. A. a.) agriculture itself becomes much more important. Moreover, agriculture has become increasingly important to the Cayuá, not only as production for direct consumption but also because of (II. A. f.) the exchange of a certain amount of agricultural production for the new essential trade goods. All of these factors have emphasized the male economic role. Running parallel (II. A. d.), native industries have become less important, and some have been lost entirely. Here again the result is that the woman's contribution, as in agriculture, has been diminished. To these reasons for the greatly decreased relative economic importance of women may also be added (II. A. a.) the change, an important form of Cayuá production today which is not even partially the province of the female. Now, to counterbalance all this, is there any indication of important new lines of economic activity for women.

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[18] In any future trend toward a fuller money barter type of exchange, such Cayuá transactions can become only slightly more frequent. A money circulation type of economy is unlikely—at least until the local Brazilian economy develops to that point. For the Brazilian settlers themselves largely negotiate in terms of a money barter rather than a money circulation, although money does actually circulate more among them or in a group than among the Cayuá. The local Neo-Brazilian type of exchange of goods and services is generally comparable to that described by James West for some of the inhabitants of Plainville, U. S. A. (1945). A money reference is widely employed, but little actual money changes hands.

[19] It is not entirely certain just how common polygyny was aboriginally, but there seems little doubt that it existed on some scale. It is difficult, however, to assess the importance of factors responsible for the decrease of polygyny when we do not know the extent of the decrease.

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on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, bowed and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is these assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

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there two or three times with their children and wives, though here in front of this city, by a river which would be two leagues from here, which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and [illegible] throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.

"Also these cacics have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypitû and thus likewise cacics villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

/304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity. It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions, which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests; but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

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clearly Arawak by its technique and many a detail of its structure. It dates from an epoch when the Chané, newly come to the foot of the Andes, had not yet undergone the Andean influence of the populations of the Bolivian south (Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

When they arrived among the Chané, the Guarani had a civilization nearly identical with that of their racial brothers, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, whose ethnography is so familiar to us, thanks to the old French and Portuguese chronicles. They differed little from their present-day cousins, the Kainguá /Caingua/ of Brazil and Paraguay, who are independent but impoverished Guarani.

Upon contact with the superior Chané civilization, the Guarani adopted it as it was, introducing, however, some cultural elements of Paraguayan origin. From this fusion of the two nations was /330/ formed a center of acculturation which we can designate as Chané-Chiriguano civilization.

It is through the medium of the Chané that so many aspects of Andean civilization still characterize Chiriguano culture. For how could we otherwise explain so strong an effect of Andean civilization on the Chiriguano at the time when that civilization was failing and disappearing, at least partially?

The Chané, on the other hand, established for centuries near the Chicha and other Indians of the south of mountainous Bolivia, have, thanks to their trade relations, submitted to the attractions of the Andean civilization which has infiltrated among them, as among the other tribes of the Chaco, in the form of toilet objects, jewels, artistic motifs, games, words, and vices. It is these multiple contributions which give the Chané culture this Andean appearance which strikes every ethnographer used to the peoples of Brazil. But, having come from the great forests of the Amazon basin, these "Quichuaized /Quechuaized/" Arawak have faithfully kept until today furniture and utensils which betray this origin and tie them directly to their faraway relatives of the Guianas. The Chané civilization was and still is a mixed civilization formed of elements from different sources and often of opposing nature.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
Guarani 514

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ozgan, yet, however. *Encha klatàm keèn èúčnek,* 192*
ozgan netackaik: Though this man is beautiful, yet he is cowardly. *Tán* means *because*, and *máoge*, therefore. *Tán ajte apatáye ken nepark, máoge chik àátèkan:* Because there are many gnats in the plain, therefore I have not slept. *Men, men*, mean as, so. *Men netà, men nactaĩat*, As the father, so the son.

They have various exclamations of wonder, grief, joy, &c. *Kemen apalaik akami!* How stingy and tenacious of thy own property thou art! *Kemén naáchik*, or *Kimili naáchik!* Oh! A
how useful this will be to me! is their way of G ●
thanking you for a gift; for neither the Abi- 181 ●
pones nor Guaranies have any word whereby 576
to express thanks. What wonder, since gratitude is unknown, even by name, among them, that they do not display it their actions? For, as some one observed, they think benefits like flowers—only pleasant as long as they are fresh. One repulse entirely effaces the memory of former benefits from the minds of the Indians. The Guaranies, on receiving a gift, G
use the same phrase, and say, *Aquiyebete ângà:* [192]
This will be useful to me. The Abipones, after A
obtaining what they ask, sometimes thanked 192*
the giver with nothing but the word *Kliri:* This 576
is what I wanted. In wonder or compassion, they exclaim, *Kem ekemat! Ta yeegàm!* or